

Germany (Territory under Allied occupation, 1945 - U.S. zone)

LABOR EDUCATION
IN GERMANY

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ELEANOR COIT

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LABOR EDUCATION IN GERMANY

by

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FOREWORD

It is generally recognized that education can be a highly important means for helping the average citizen understand and participate fully in the democratic society. However, education should not be understood to refer only to the public school system, but to all institutions which cooperate in the democratic process.

The report prepared by Miss Coit deals with the efforts of one of these institutions - the trade unions - to contribute their share towards helping the process of continuous enlightenment which is a main feature of every truly democratic society. More than ordinary interest should be attached to the phase of adult education conducted by labor organizations in as much as the trade unions themselves constitute a significant carrier of democratic traditions. The programs and methods used in labor education are important factors in attaining the objectives of the trade union schools. In order to improve such education, it is necessary for German labor educators not only to evaluate the programs in their own terms, but to select from labor education in other democratic countries those features which could prove of value here. For this purpose, it is desirable for the German trade unions engaged in labor education, to become acquainted with workers' education in other free countries through first hand surveys, personal contacts, international conferences, and publications.

In order to make such opportunities available, the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany - formerly the Office of Military Government for Germany (U. S.) - has conducted an exchange program designed to foster the free exchange of ideas.

The present study by Miss Coit should assist those interested in understanding the programs, problems and achievements of the free and democratic trade unions in the field of labor education.



H. W. Brown
Director
Office of Labor Affairs

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COVER PICTURE - Trade Union School at Oberursel of the German Trade Union Federation (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, or DGB)

NOTES ON THE AUTHOR

Miss Eleanor G. Coit, Director, American Labor Education Service, has had wide and varied experiences in the field of workers' education, and is well qualified as a specialist in this field both in the United States and abroad.

Miss Coit received her BA from Smith College, and her MA at Columbia University. Since that time, she has served as Field worker, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor; Research worker, "The Inquiry;" Industrial Secretary, National Board, Y. W. C. A.; Educational Secretary, Affiliated Schools for Workers; Visiting member teaching staff, group work institute "School of Applied Social Sciences," Western Reserve University; and was an American-Scandinavian Foundation Travelling Fellow to Sweden, Denmark and England in 1935.

Among some of the Boards and Committees on which Miss Coit serves, are: The Executive Board of the American Association for Adult Education; The Governing Board, Summer Institute for Social Progress, Wellesley, Subcommittee for Development of Leadership in Other Countries, Foreign Division, National Board, Y. W. C. A.; and Ruskin Scholarship Committee, Institute of International Education.

Several articles in the field of workers' education have been contributed by Miss Coit. Among them are: "Workers' Education in the U. S.;" "Government Support of Workers' Education with Special Reference to Denmark and Sweden;" "The Worker Accepts Responsibility for Education;" "Workers' Education," a chapter in "Handbook of Adult Education in the U. S.," 1948; and "Group Work in the Workers' Education Setting," a chapter in "Decade of Group Work," 1948.

LABOR EDUCATION IN GERMANY

INTRODUCTION

Purpose and How Conducted

The purpose of the trip to Germany was to study present practices in workers' education, to strengthen contacts between workers' education groups in Germany and in the United States (thus furthering international cooperation between all workers' education movements), to consult with workers' education groups in Germany on needs and resources which might be made available by the Military Government, and to make recommendations, both to the Military Government and to groups in the United States, about their cooperation with German trade unions in the field of workers' education.

This study was in effect a follow up of that made by Alice Hanson Cook in 1947 (see Appendix A), but the purpose and method used were altogether different. Where Mrs. Cook had made a broad and extensive study of a large number of projects, building on her contacts in Germany of many years' standing, the purpose here was to visit selected projects and to study trends.

NOTES: The views herein expressed are those of the author, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany.

The study of labor education in Germany was conducted by Miss E. G. Coit between March 20 and June 28, 1949 under the auspices of the Office of Military Government (U. S.). Consequently, frequent references to Military Government will be found in the report which was submitted after the responsibility for the U. S. administration in Germany was transferred from the Office of Military Government for Germany (U. S.) to the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany.

More important to the author than making an exhaustive survey was the establishment of contacts, and wherever a choice had to be made between visiting new centers and making contacts or participating in workers' education programs, the latter course was followed.

Visits were made, however, to workers' education centers of all types, including resident schools and trade union centers where local educational activities, youth group and women's activities were being conducted. Classes were visited, teachers, students, directors and heads of special projects were interviewed, committee meetings were attended, and written material about many projects was studied. In addition, interviews were held with union educational directors, adult educators, and with trade union, government and community leaders.

Contacts were made with various special projects: the community study at Darmstadt, youth training centers, workers' vacation centers, industrial plants, adult education centers and adult and workers' education conferences - both at the local and international level.

The study was carried on largely in Frankfurt and surrounding communities. Munich and nearby centers, Stuttgart, Berlin, and selected communities in the British Zone. This report, therefore, is especially addressed to the work in the American Zone, but includes also material on the British Zone.

The writer looks back with much pleasure to her associations with those engaged in workers' education in Germany. She wishes to express here her deep appreciation to them for the many courtesies extended to her and all the assistance given her. Appreciation is also expressed to the many members of the staffs of the Manpower Division and the Education and Cultural Relations Division of the Military Government, who did so much to aid her.

Background Material and Basic Factors

Workers' education, as understood in this report, is that phase of adult education which is addressed to a two-fold task: the training of trade union officers and members to function intelligently in the present economic situation through assuming their special responsibilities as trade unionists in the community; and the equipping of workers to understand the world in which they

live and the forces which impinge on their experience. One workers' education leader in Germany has described workers' education as "education to develop free men."

Any educational program conducted in the comparatively informal atmosphere of a labor school, and attended by mature workers who come to study in order to equip themselves for active work in their unions, is in strong contrast to the traditional schools. A visitor going to Germany from the United States finds it difficult to realize that the public school system carries the basic school only to the fourth grade and that Germany separates the various social classes at the age of 10, when, in effect, it is decided for the German child what his occupation will be (since if the child remains in the elementary school after the fourth grade, it is difficult to change to a profession). The chasm between labor educational schools and other educational institutions is very real, with too little recognition on the part of those responsible, of what a school system should be from the point of view of training for citizenship. In Germany today, therefore, workers' education has a peculiarly important role to play. By its means youth are being trained to meet the many problems confronting the labor movement today; more than this, by means of workers' education - as a bearer of the democratic idea - the old concept of education and privilege for certain groups may be fought, and the new concept - that education is a preparation for everyday living - may be given meaning for other groups, as well as the trade unionists who take part in workers' education.

To understand and appreciate the present workers' education scene in Germany one must keep in mind the long history of the German trade union movement, with its related educational activities, and the fact that in the past as today, the trade union educational work had to fill many gaps in the general education of its members, most of whom left full-time school and went to work at an early age. Important to be kept in mind, too, is a lack of understanding of and sympathy with their activities on the part of certain agencies which have a strong influence on public opinion.

The customary educational practice in Germany, which puts emphasis on the lecture method and on education as a means of supplying information to the student (in contrast to more informal methods of discussion and exchange), also has its influence on practices in workers' education. Finally, the great sense of immediacy on the part of the trade unions to train new leadership to meet the heavy responsibilities placed on the labor movement

in this period of reconstruction affects the present form and content of workers' education.

Coming to Germany with little previous knowledge of its post-war trade union educational work, I was impressed with the wide participation of students in a varied program, the organization of program to train for specialized needs, the interest in use of new procedures, and the trend toward closer cooperation between groups in different areas, even though there are difficulties of communication and other problems resulting from the varying conditions in each different land. As a result of the short time since the war in which to rebuild educational work, however, there is much ahead to be done in broadening the program, in developing new techniques, and developing a more functional type of program. With the organization of the tri-zonal federation of labor, through which new growth and greater coordination of work can be expected, the time is ripe for such broadening of the program along many lines, and for developing many new resources and techniques.

In the American Zone the trade unions have been organized on a decentralized basis, as a result of the policy of the Military Government, and until recently each Land has had its own federation of labor, with coordination in certain areas of activity, both between the Laender and on an inter-zonal basis. The contacts which made possible this report were made while the tri-zonal trade union federation was in process of organization and the picture of workers' education from an administrative point of view reflected different situations in each zone and in the different Laender.

From an organizational standpoint, as well as an administrative one, the picture of workers' education in Germany is a varied one. Its programs are conducted in many forms - resident schools (both short-time and year-round); local classes (sometimes conducted under the banner of a local workers' school, as in Hamburg, and sometimes less highly organized); functional activities (as, for example, those for works councillors); and publications, such as union newspapers and other media for reaching union members. The vacation programs set up by various unions should also be taken into account, as well as dramatic clubs, sports and recreational programs.

Because of the great need for new, young leadership, an important part of the educational program as carried on by the trade unions in Germany is the work of the youth section of each

federation and of their district offices, as well as the youth activities of specific unions. 1/ These youth programs include study classes, outdoor camping activities, recreation, music, conferences and discussions of topics of interest to the youth groups. Training of youth leaders is also an important part of the work of the youth departments and is often carried on at special camps and schools.

- 1/ In Germany the trade union activities for youth are set up in a separate department, in contrast to the procedure followed in the United States. The program for these youth groups are outlined in full detail in the report of the Bavarian Federation of Labor for 1947, as follows:

"The common goal was fixed as to the ways for further development of trade union work:

in the field of vocational training:

reform of curricula of vocational schools which should include trade union history, economics, labor law with special emphasis of works council law and youth protection law; procurement of scientific literature; change of technique of teaching; exchange of teachers if necessary.

in the field of youth protection:

in principle no night work for juveniles; trade union representatives to be permitted to inspect working places of apprentices and juvenile workers; paid annual leave for juvenile workers of at least 24 days per year.

The federation board was asked to look after the interests of youth, and to provide also means and facilities to carry through camps and educational training for young people."

In the 1947 report of the Bavarian Federation of Labor the youth program is interpreted as that for workers up to 25 years of age. The description of the work of the Land Youth Committee in Hesse points out that this Committee has representation on the Federation Board. The chairman of the Land Youth Committee is an elected person, and among the personnel working with him during the year were a youth secretary of the Federation, youth secretaries of the District Committee in various districts, and the youth secretary of the Railroad Workers Union. To this number today would be added several more secretaries appointed by other unions.

Since, as a result of the great loss of men in two wars, Germany has a large woman population, 1/ it is important for the trade unions to give special attention to the interests of women as well as to those of youth. The women's secretaries of Bavaria, Wuerttemberg-Baden, Hesse, and the women's secretary of UGO (Unabhaengige Gewerkschafts-Organisation) in Berlin, as well as the secretaries for certain local communities, work through special conferences and institutes, through meetings of women's works councillors, the newspapers and the radio, and through cooperation with various more general phases of trade union work. In general it is the job of the women's secretaries to involve more women in trade union activities, to develop deeper understanding and interest on the part of the women and to try to integrate the work with and for the women with the over-all trade union activities. Efforts are made also to develop a wider cooperation with other community groups interested in the problems of women.

In addition to these basic factors of organization, administration and personnel, the physical difficulties confronting those engaged in workers' education in Germany, although not discussed here, also form part of the background for this report. Those conducting labor schools have worked against great odds. Their buildings have not all been returned to them, and those placed in their hands have needed all kinds of repairs,

1/ It is pointed out, in a report on the development of women's work in Berlin, that "in 1945 41.5% of the gainfully occupied people of Berlin were women, while in 1939, in comparison, the percentage of women among the working people was only 33.7%. In 1948 women made up about 44% of the working people." To continue to quote from this report:

"Looking at the jobs women hold today, we note that they are not only occupied in typical women's work, but that we find women as well in working places which formerly belonged to men's sphere entirely; women work as railroad and streetcar conductors, in construction work, in various jobs in the plants replacing the missing men. Although the majority of women - some 180.000 - is employed in clerical and administrative jobs, only 90.000 women are engaged in domestic service (in 1938 approximately 230.000 women worked in domestic service); however, 60.000 women work as unskilled labor, as helpers in construction, carpentry, etc.; and about one-third of this number is employed in clearing rubble; about 48.000 women work in clothing industry, 24.000 in metal industry."

which the faculty have often had to make in addition to carrying their teaching responsibilities. Materials for study have been lacking and food was insufficient. Poor transportation, the comparative isolation from each other in which some groups must work, insufficient funds and many other problems have also been great handicaps which it is difficult for those who live in America to comprehend.

Part of the backdrop against which this report should be read, too, lies in the acute economic problems confronting German workers and the labor movement. Their economic concerns: the problem of wages keeping pace with the rising cost of living, unemployment, their sense of need to have social insurance re-established on an adequate basis, their concern for the negotiation of wage contracts, the issue of their rights in co-decision with employers in the plants, are the concern of those who carry on labor education.

THE STORY OF WORKERS' EDUCATION

Precis

Workers' education programs, as pointed out earlier, were mainly administered at the time of this report by the federations of labor in Hesse, Bavaria, and Wuerttemberg-Baden, and by UGO in Berlin, in the American Zone; by the DGB (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund) in the British Zone, and by the labor bodies in the French Zone. District and local representatives of the unions, as well as the top officials, are concerned in the program, and others who carry responsibilities include youth secretaries and women's secretaries, as well as the educational representatives in the districts and on the executive boards of the various unions. The most serious responsibility was carried by the paid educational officials of the federations (where these existed), by the educational directors of the unions (in the small number of cases where these have been appointed), and by the directors of the schools and projects.

Labor education, as thus conducted by the trade unions and related groups, operates on a broad scale in Germany today. 1/ I found no exact figures on the number of persons participating in the over-all program, nor on the percentage of those in trade unions 2/ who take part in the educational work. The wide geographical spread of the activities, however, indicates the broad interest on the part of trade union members; and the

- 1/ This report deals only with trade union programs and year-round resident schools. The report does not deal with the political schools, as, for example, those run by the Social Democratic Party.
- 2/ The figure given for the number in the trade unions for the Western Zone is 5,150,000 ("Labor and Trade Unionism in Germany," Fritz Tarnow, The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1948). The proportion of workers in trade unions is estimated at forty per cent. The sixteen important unions are: Banking, Commerce, and Insurance; Building; Mining, Chemistry, Glass and Ceramics; Printing and Paper; Wood; Metal; Food and Luxuries; Agriculture and Forestry; Leather; Textile and Clothing; Railroad; Post; Public Services and Transport; Cultural Workers; Education and Science.

participation of many young people, as well as experienced trade unionists, indicates the value of the work in training new leadership. Detailed budgets for educational operations were not available, but some indication of the expenditure of funds is found in the following estimates (supplied by union officials): Annual expenditure for education in the Western Zone, 10,000,000 marks; annual budget of the education department of the DGB, 750,000 marks; annual budget of research department of DGB, 400,000 marks; monthly cost per student attending resident schools in the British Zone 500 marks. 1/

The responsibility assumed by individual unions is indicated by their so often paying the costs (board and room, fares and lost pay) of their members who are in attendance at the resident schools. Some unions (as, for example, the railroad workers, textile, chemical, transport, miners' unions) employ their own educational directors, and the miners, for instance, are said to spend in the neighborhood of a million marks a year for education.

The backbone of workers' education is in the resident schools. Important among these are those run by the Federations of Labor in each Land. Of such the writer visited Bundesschule Kochel, run by the Bavarian Federation of Labor; Landesgewerkschaftsschule in Oberursel, the trade union school of the Hesse Federation; and Bundesschule Hattingen and Bundesschule Wennigser Mark, two of the three resident schools operated by the DGB 2/ in the British Zone. In all these schools short courses are held throughout much of the year. 3/ These courses are organized for specific unions, for union functionaries (as illustrated by the course for legal advisors (Rechtsstellenleiter) visited at Kochel),

- 1/ Comparative figures in the United States are found in the following examples: \$267,338 spent by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in 1947 for local and central expenses in connection with its educational and recreational work (see Report of Educational Department, I. L. G. W. U., June 1, 1946 to May 31, 1948); and \$50,000 per month set aside by national and local UAW-CIO unions for similar purposes (see Building the Union - A One Volume Encyclopedia for Education Committeemen, published by the UAW-CIO Education Department).
- 2/ A youth school was opened by the DGB in the summer of 1949, which brings the number to four, at the time of the writing of this report.
- 3/ The school at Kochel was rented for three months this summer, but it was planned that it be opened again in the fall.

for district officers, for women active in union work, for white Collar workers, for labor court officials, and for special needs (as illustrated by new courses being developed at Oberursel on time and motion study, and on works councillors' problems).

Other resident schools are operated by individual unions (as, for example, the railroad workers' school, Schule des Eisenbahner-Verbandes, at Hammersbach). Perhaps the most encouraging fact about the German workers' education movement, especially in contrast to that in the United States, is that three year-round workers' schools are in operation. Here serious study is taking place by the better-qualified worker-students who are training to assume leadership in trade union affairs.

The responsibility for the selection of students for these schools is largely in the hands of the trade unions. If the institute is planned for a single trade union with a large number in attendance, it is obvious that the choice is made on a less selective basis than in the case of the cross section courses where the purpose is to train for specialized needs. Students for the year-round courses are selected as those considered especially qualified, and are often chosen from among those in the shorter courses who show most promise.

The curriculum varies with the needs to be met in the various resident schools. Since the emphasis is on training functionaries or leaders, the study of such questions as labor law, trade unionism, history of the labor movement, labor economics, current problems (such as wages and the cost of living), job evaluation and government are stressed. At the same time, sociology, history, psychology and problems of democracy have their place.

On a local basis, emphasis is placed also on vocational training. Because of the after effects of the Hitler regime, when out-of-school activities played such an important role - at the expense of certain basic studies - attention has been given, too, to lacks in previous education and to the study of such questions as the German language and other subjects often taught in the elementary schools.

Those who teach in the workers' schools in Germany have many different types of background and experience. In the year-round schools, especially at the Akademie der Arbeit and the Academy of Social Economy in Hamburg, there is a resident

staff. These full-time teachers often come to the schools with university training, as well as with a knowledge of the labor movement. At other resident schools, where short courses are held, the number of resident or full-time teachers is small, the director being usually the only teacher in residence. ^{1/} The schools operated by the DGB support a regular panel of supplementary part-time persons who serve as teachers in the schools. These persons include, among others, law specialists and government experts, as well as practical trade unionists. The part-time teachers at all schools come from the trade unions (officials, specialists and leaders), and from government and technical professions; in contrast to the United States, few come from the university teaching field.

The seriousness of purpose and sense of direction on the part of the teaching staffs in the German labor schools forms an important basis for the conviction on the part of the writer that the labor education program in Germany is a valid one. This is contributed to, also, by the will to learn and earnestness of the workers who are the students in these schools, and who, like their fellow worker-students all over the world, have a deep interest in the economic and social problems which are the stuff of their everyday lives.

Other factors which bear out my belief that the program is a valid one, and which should be kept in mind as an interpretation of the illustrative material which follows, include the following: the work of the fifteen resident schools and of the local activities is well organized, the students are carefully recruited and are broadly representative of union life, and those responsible for the program are working toward the recognized objective of equipping the workers to attack the problems of today, through better understanding the world in which they live.

^{1/} An exception was in the School at Kochel, where a teacher of economics, as well as the director (a specialist in labor law) was a resident at the school.

SHORT TIME RESIDENT PROJECTS

The Trade Union Schools at Oberursel and Kochel

Since, due to its nearness to my headquarters in Frankfurt, I visited Oberursel several times, I should like to refer more especially to its work. The school has a creative program and is a place where there is a feeling of vitality in the everyday participation of the students in the school. Young workers as well as old take part. The program is developed on the assumption that the students' discussion of specific problems which they will handle later must be made against the students' own background of values and philosophy of life. Most important of all, it seemed to me, there is an awareness on the part of Willi Birkelbach, the director, of the true meaning of the group work process.

Although many groups met there during the months I was in Germany, I visited four: a women's course, a course for miners, a course for postal employees, and one for members of the chemical workers union. Subjects taught at Oberursel, like those at Kochel, vary with the group and project, of course. At Kochel courses include economics, law, social science, with supplementary lectures to meet specialized needs. Important topics taken up in the course of the work at Oberursel are:

1. Social Problems

Change in social structure
Age distribution
Protection of workers, women, youth
Care of old age and invalids.

Developing a sense of responsibility
toward the community.

2. Labor Law

Legal regulations with reference
to Collective Bargaining
Agreements
Workers' Councils
The Right to Organize.

3. Labor Economics

Production
Wages and Cost of Living
Job Evaluation
Labor-Management Cooperation.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 4. Basic Questions of Democracy | Safeguarding the fundamental rights of men
Division of Power
Free Organizations. |
| 5. Trade Union Questions | Historic facts
Organizational problems. |

Resident Schools of the DGB.

Important educational work is being done by the DGB (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund) in the British Zone, under the able direction of Dr. Heinz Kueppers. His conception of workers' education, as I understood it, is that this education must train members and functionaries for their specific tasks in the trade unions, but also give deeper insight into our social and economic world, as a background for understanding of life: in other words, it must develop the personality as well as the social awareness of union members.

The educational work of the DGB is highly coordinated and has its focus in the resident schools: Hattingen (near Duesseldorf), Wennigser Mark (near Hannover), and Bundesschule Burgwall (near Bremen). Among the short courses conducted here by the DGB, to answer many needs of its members all over the British Zone, are those especially designed for youth leaders, women, assembly speakers, secretaries of local and county committees, for Assistant Judges of Social Insurance Courts, for education secretaries, for teachers of trade union schools, for teachers of public educational institutes, for labor directors, and for members of specific unions. At the same time general courses are given in Social Problems, Labor Law and Economics.

The DGB program has been carefully developed from small beginnings after the war, until it is now conducted in small and large communities as well as in these resident schools. At the time of this study, the over-all planning was done by a zonal education committee on which sat certain trade union officials, together with the leaders of the resident schools, the Federation Youth secretary, and Dr. Erich Potthoff of the DGB research institute. The specific planning for such matters as courses and entrance requirements was in the hands of a smaller curriculum or executive committee on which sat the education secretaries of the districts and the heads of the resident schools, under the chairmanship of Dr. Kueppers.

I was a guest at a meeting of this committee when it discussed questions relating to courses for the summer period, methods of recruiting (done through letters, brochures, direct contacts, communications to works councillors, and through local committees), standards, follow-up, and new developments, especially the School for Youth soon to be opened.

The type of student who attends the resident schools may be described by referring particularly to the school at Wennigser Mark. One hundred and sixty-seven (167) students attended five courses held between February and May, 1949 (a "basic course," a course on social problems, a course for teachers on public education institutes, a general course for officers, and a course on labor law). Of the 167 participants, 160 were men and 7 were women; 44 were single persons and 123 were married. The breakdown into age groups was as follows:

AGE	NUMBER
Under 20 years	5
Between 20 and 24 years	25
" 25 and 30 "	25
" 31 and 35 "	32
Over 35 years (with a majority of these under 45)	80

The school background of the 167 students shows 122 to have come from elementary school and 26 from intermediate school (Mittelschule). 19 had passed the final Gymnasium examinations. It can thus be seen that the great majority were those who had left school at an early age in order to make a living. (The students were works councillors, workers' representatives in the plant and on committees, youth leaders, teachers in the Volkshochschulen, etc.) Thirty-seven had previously attended the Volkshochschulen, and 38 had attended other trade union training courses.

The occupational background of the students was as follows:

Professional worker	1
Office clerks and technical employees	15
Civil servants	28
Trade union employees	14
Craftsmen and skilled workers	94
Unskilled workers	15

The trade unions of which the participants were members represented a cross section of unions and included those in the following fields: building; mining; chemistry; printing and paper; railroad; education and science; horticulture, agriculture and forestry; commerce, banks and insurance; wood; metal; music, stage, artistic and film; food and luxuries; public services, transport and traffic; and textile.

The selection of students to attend the DGB's resident schools is not made on a regional basis; workers from any part of the British Zone may attend any one of the three. Records on the accomplishments of each student are kept in the offices of the district educational personnel. On the basis of these records further study may be recommended - either at one of the DGB resident schools or at such longer-term resident schools as the Academy of Labor (Akademie der Arbeit), the Social Academy (Sozialakademie) in Dortmund and the Academy of Cooperative Economy (Akademie fuer Gemeinwirtschaft) in Hamburg. It is the especially well-qualified students from these schools who go on to work with academies in Dortmund, Hamburg and Frankfurt.

As illustrated by a meeting held last spring to which were invited the economists of the workers' schools in the British Zone, as well as teachers from the workers' schools in the American Zone, together with the research workers of the Institute, the educational department of the DGB works closely with the DGB's Research Institute in Koeln (Wirtschaftswissenschaftliches Institut der Gewerkschaften). This research Institute, headed by Dr. Erich Potthoff (under the Trade Union Federation in the British Zone), carries on research activities, and its findings are used by union groups in other zones than the British. The areas of recent work include a study of the cost of living and a study of wages in relation to profits and productivity. There is a publications program which supplements the research activities, and such responsibilities as preparing data needed for speeches by trade union officials has been assumed by the staff of the Institute.

Two economic courses have been held in cooperation with the DGB schools, and the education department of the DGB and the Institute staff cooperate in various ways, as, for example, through the membership of Dr. Potthoff on the Education Committee of the DGB and through the participation of members of the Institute staff in educational staff meetings.

RESIDENT SCHOOLS OPERATED BY SINGLE UNIONS

Railroad Workers' School (Schule des Eisenbahner-Verbandes)
at Hammersbach-Garmisch

Among the several schools where resident courses are conducted by specific unions for their members, the one which was visited and will serve in this report as an example of the type was the school conducted by the Railroad Workers Union at Hammersbach-Garmisch. Railroad workers came from the three zones - at the time of my visit, from the French. Among the topics covered were the following: History of the labor movement, social problems and social security, labor law, current problems - such as wages and works council problems, political economy and management, and the law as it relates to shop stewards.

Visiting representatives of the union are responsible for the different institutes or special sessions, with matters other than curriculum in the hands of the resident administrator. The faculty, who come from various types of experience and fields of interest, teach on a part-time basis, although certain of the faculty serve on a permanent panel and teach in most of the institutes which are conducted.

The students who were in attendance at the Institute which I visited were keenly interested in current everyday problems and expressed special interest in the progress of youth work in the unions. They were also interested in American life, and were particularly anxious to help develop an exchange of workers between schools in Germany and the United States, and, looking toward this end, urged the establishment of every possible contact with the railroad workers union in the United States.

Among special schools organized by single trade unions are two in the British Zone: Schule Rummenohl for metal workers and Michael Rott Schule run by the public service union. A recent prospectus for the latter outlines courses for functionaries, for civil servants, for women functionaries, for educational officers and press secretaries, for social insurance employees, and courses for those interested in labor law. Particular subjects under consideration include the history of the trade union movement, the theory of plant management, social insurance, economic theory, labor law (also the works council law, the civil service law and the law affecting white collar workers), social psychology and current trade union problems.

YEAR-ROUND RESIDENT SCHOOLS

The Academy of Labor (Akademie der Arbeit), Frankfurt

As already pointed out, workers in Germany may not only attend short courses, but also have the opportunity, if qualified, to participate in longer time projects. The most famous of these is the Akademie der Arbeit in Frankfurt, which was opened in 1921 to give to worker-students a systematic education to enable them to work more effectively on the economic, social and political problems with which they are confronted in their everyday life. The Akademie der Arbeit had to close in 1933, but was re-opened in 1947 under the direction of Dr. Franz Joseph Furtwaengler, and is now directed by Mr. Hans-Joachim Zinkeisen. Mr. Zinkeisen is aided by two full-time teachers (Dr. Meyn and Dr. Borris), and by other part-time faculty members, who bring scholarship as well as real leadership to their work.

The original contract for the school was between the Prussian state and the trade unions, but the school administration considers that its instruction is "independent of both powers - like a university, in its own right." The Akademie is under the direction of a council (Kuratorium), in the membership of which the trade unions hold a majority. The members include, in addition to the chairman, who is the president of the State Employment Service (Landesarbeitsamtes), six representatives of the trade unions, the Hessian Minister of Labor and Welfare, the Hessian Minister for Culture and Education, the Rector of the University of Frankfurt, a professor of the University of Frankfurt, and the head of the Akademie. Others sometimes join with the members of the Kuratorium in their meetings.

The school is conducted over a ten-month period with one month's vacation, which means that the students are in residence for nine months. The trade union or the agency sending the student pays for the living costs and certain fees, as well as for loss of pay, the other costs being met by the Land Hesse and the City of Frankfurt. About sixty students from all over Germany are in attendance at a time. The school building is used for less formal or discussion classes and offices, and the University classrooms are used for the regular formal class work. At present, students live in separate boarding quarters around the city.

The curriculum, which is specifically planned to train

workers and their leaders, includes basic courses in history, sociology, law, government, economics, social problems and labor legislation, and the history of the trade union movement.

Preparation for the work at the Akademie is given at the trade union schools at Oberursel and Kochel, and in the courses given at the resident schools operated by the DGB in the British Zone. Among the subjects given in this preliminary training are history, geography, economics, the German language, and some background in labor law.

There are no rigid requirements for admission, other than that the students be members of a trade union, and that their applications to the Akademie be submitted by their trade union. The school prefers that its students be between twenty-five and thirty-five years of age.

The Social Academy in Dortmund (Sozialakademie, Dortmund)

Another important school in which trade unions are being given educational opportunities is the Social Academy at Dortmund, opened in 1947. It is financed by city, state and trade union sources. The proportion of trade union representatives in the governing body is smaller here than at the Akademie der Arbeit. The basic fields of study are in economics, sociology, social politics, theory of plant management, law - especially social and labor law, legislation, trade union principles, history and practice of the trade union movement, and social psychology. Under a hundred (in the neighborhood of 70) students take part. Although the school functions with inadequate equipment (a few rooms in a building used by other groups), the group-feeling on the part of the student body is evident and progress in building up a library has been made by the resourceful director.

The Academy of Cooperative Economy in Hamburg (Akademie fuer Gemeinwirtschaft)

The Academy of Cooperative Economy at Hamburg is another important school attended by trade unionists, in this case for a two-year period. It was reorganized in the fall of 1948, and seeks specifically to train well-qualified students for positions in trade unions and in public life. The head of the school, Dr. F. Behrens, pointed out to me that it is important that workers in other kinds of positions - not only

in trade unions - have a knowledge of the labor movement, and the school prospectus refers to the institution as one for education and research to promote a knowledge of German social economy and social reconstruction. The discipline and seriousness of purpose of the students would bear testimony to their dedication to this purpose.

The Academy at Hamburg has a staff of six full-time teachers and is governed by a board which consists of the president of the School Board of Hamburg as chairman, the Rector of the University, the dean of the Legal and Economic Faculty, two representatives of the citizens, and five representatives from the German Trade Union Federation, the Central Association of Consumer Cooperatives, and the Association of Housing Enterprises for the Cooperatives, or other organizations interested in social economy.

The City of Hamburg pays for the costs of the Academy, while the trade unions, cooperatives or other organizations who send students share the expense by paying for the living costs and tuition fees of a certain number of students they select.

The curriculum includes a study of economic theory, plant economy, theory of law, sociology, and certain other related subjects such as statistical methods.

LOCAL TRADE UNION SCHOOLS

The picture of workers' education in present day Germany is not complete without reference to the many activities organized on a district and local level, such, for example, as clinics for works councillors, or classes and lectures on topics of current interest and a wide variety of cultural and vocational subjects. Although these are not discussed in detail in this report, short descriptions of certain of the local activities will show the trend in this phase of the work.

Gewerkschaftsschule in Hamburg

The most comprehensive local program with which I was in contact was the trade union school (Gewerkschaftsschule) in Hamburg. Here study classes are held both summer and winter and are considered essential by the leadership to a strong trade union movement. The aim of the program is to train all who take part in trade union work. Many classes are organized, and the educational value of learning in the process of carrying on everyday trade union work is recognized in the educational philosophy of the trade union leadership.

Among the many subjects taught are: tasks of shop stewards, labor court procedure and practice, social policy, the industrial revolution, group work, vocational guidance, economic policy, cooperatives, history of trade unions, protection of youth and juvenile law, women in trade unions, and women in economic life.

Leuschner Haus in Berlin

Another educational center where the program is planned for trade union groups in one community is Leuschner Haus, organized under the UGO (Unabhaengige Gewerkschafts-Organisation). The program is more informal than that of other centers described, without a regular schedule of classes; but Leuschner Haus is the place where trade union, youth and women's groups meet for study. The vital interest in today's pressing problems was made evident at the meeting of educational and women's officers, which I attended, and the interest in developing the educational work reflected the valiant quality of Berlin's trade union leaders. Our discussion pertained to methods of work, organizational techniques and the importance of educational work being rooted in a social philosophy adequate to the problems of the day.

People's School, Regensburg

Another local trade union school, of a very different type from either of those mentioned, is the school run by the trade unions in Regensburg. Here the work includes courses of a vocational nature, as, for example, business courses and technical courses for craftsmen; while more general courses in foreign languages, religion, philosophy, literature, labor law, political economy, education, psychology, and courses in art, music, the theatre and the press are also given.

BRIEFSCHULE

A new development now being organized for the trade unions, under the direction of Hans Migrauer, is a correspondence school (Briefschule) in which the influence of the Swedish experience plays an important part. This program extends the study opportunities for trade unionists, and was described to me by one important trade union official as also serving the purpose of helping to discover new potential leadership, that is, workers who should be given other opportunities for study. Among the topics covered this year were arithmetic, procedures to be followed in meetings, psychology, economics, management, trade unionism, cooperatives, parliamentary law, English, and administration and politics in labor questions.

Two kinds of groups are being set up by this correspondence school. In one type of group the study circle is under the guidance of a teacher, with material supplied from headquarters; in the other, the students work without a teacher, and their written material, tests, etc., are sent to the central office (by a leader appointed by the group) for marking and comments, and are then returned.

Fees are charged for the courses, which may be paid by the student or by a federation of labor. (The total amount spent on the Briefschule is approximately 50,000 marks.) Standards are set in relation to the number of meetings, length of study, method and form of reporting, etc. The central office of the school is interested in being in close contact with students and teachers, and maintains a panel of experts to assist in preparing material and marking papers and reports, which may come from individual students in the group or from the whole group. Although emphasis is put on group study, any individual may apply for an opportunity to study. Certificates are awarded to individuals or to groups completing the work.

RAILROAD VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

The trade unions put emphasis in their educational program on vocational education to an extent that unions in the United States do not. It is in the German tradition that workers must be good craftsmen and, partly as a result of the war years, the German trade unions feel the need to train workers whose apprenticeship training is not completed. Vocational courses are therefore being held widely under the auspices of trade union groups today.

An example of such vocational schools is that of the German Railroad Workers Union. An estimated 50,000 railroad workers from the British, American and French Zones are said to have attended the Railroad Vocational Schools in 1948, taking courses for a six-month period and averaging four hours of weekly instruction outside their regular work hours. The courses are designed primarily to assist workers in preparing for various Civil Service examinations set by the railroad management, either of a general educational nature or of a more specialized technical type.

Each railroad vocational school is under the supervision of a district school board - a district school principal, manager, technical advisor and two trade union members, appointed for each division of the Reichsbahn. These district school boards are centrally joined in the Railroad Vocational School Association, whose Executive Board (including representatives of the Central Executive Committee of the German Railroad Workers Union and the Central Works Council) sets up the operational principles for the schools, decides on instruction material, and publishes suitable textbooks through an affiliated publishing house.

Financial support is contributed chiefly by the Union of German Railroad Workers, with the railroad management under contract to provide office space and equipment, and pay the costs of the instruction material. Public school teachers and qualified railroad officials who teach the general and more technical courses are modestly reimbursed. The tuition fees are thus relatively small, amounting to DM 2 to 2.50 per month for union members, and somewhat more for non-union students. 1/

1/ Material here used was taken from a translation of an article from "The German Railroad Worker" ("Der Deutsche Eisenbahner"), Frankfurt/Main, October, 1948.

Another type of school is that already mentioned as located in Regensburg in Bavaria, where the trade unions conduct vocational training. Here, as pointed out in Mrs. Cook's report, the study was organized especially for veterans and others who had not finished their apprenticeship. Although its directors felt the need for thus supplementing for their members the vocational opportunities given by the regular vocational schools, those with whom I talked pointed out that this function should more and more be assumed by public authorities.

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

Educational work cannot be discussed in terms of classes and schools alone. Since the opportunity to grow comes so largely from growth in ability to comprehend and meet effectively problems faced through everyday participation in real situations, there must be included in any story of workers' education, those programs which encourage and stimulate that type of participation in union activity which results in such growth in understanding and action.

The women's department activities serve as one illustration of an effort in this direction. For this reason, as well as because of her personal interest in women's role in public affairs today, the writer gave some emphasis in her study to women's activities, and special attention is given to the work in this report.

The number of women enrolled in the courses at the resident schools is small, 1/ and many of the women coming to the schools are enrolled in separate sessions planned especially for them. Yet all contacts with trade union women's groups (interviews were held with those who participated in the schools and in works council meetings and in conferences, as well as with their leaders) would suggest vital interest in everyday affairs on the part of women trade unionists. The discussions at a meeting at which women came together from textile, fur, tobacco, and shoe industries will suggest the breadth of their interests. They discussed such questions as a "free day" for household work, which had just been negotiated in the case of one industry represented. In the discussion of general problems affecting women and in the questions asked me during the course of the afternoon, their wider interests were illustrated by questions on the status of women, laws affecting women, international working standards and conditions, and methods of carrying on educational activities.

At another meeting of women from the metal workers' union in Berlin interest was evidenced in the study of the problems of their own industry as well as in trade union organization and history both in Germany and in other countries. Problems of insufficient wages and the difficulties involved in the use of two kinds of currency were on their minds as well as the difficulties of travel to and from work, which made study groups difficult to organize.

1/ A report of activities in the August-September, 1949 issue of "Die Aussprache" records, for example, that of 1831 students enrolled at Schule Rummenohl, 186 were women; and that 12% of students attending Michael Rott Schule at Krefeld (during the period covered in that report) were women.

Another picture of the work of women's groups comes from Hesse where I visited the women's course which was held at Oberursel in April under the direction of Frau Walter. The following topics which were discussed at that course will reveal the kind of questions brought before the group for study: current economic problems, trade unions and their economic tasks, legislative programs of trade unions, social insurance, works council law, practical problems of our work, trade supervision, labor court affairs, set-up and organization of trade unions and their amalgamation, membership drive and propaganda - especially among women, the significance of the cooperative movement, the importance of educational work, labor allocation of women, evaluation and significance of new efficiency measures for employees.

Cooperation between various women's groups is indicated in the report of the Bavarian Trade Union Federation referred to earlier, where it was pointed out that women's representatives working in the various industries and areas are brought together for exchange of experience and that conferences have been held not only for Bavaria but between women in this Land and other Laender. The work of the women's affairs section of the Military Government also plays an important part in such cooperation.

As pointed out by an officer of UGO at a meeting of the educational and women's representatives from the various unions in Berlin, women in Germany have great potential power, despite the fact that their place in trade unions is a secondary one and that the accomplishments of women in public life are limited. I found evidence, however, of a strong feeling on the part of the responsible women secretaries that the interest of the women should not be developed in a separatist manner, but that everything possible should be done to equip the women to take their place beside the men in the total trade union scene. This point of view is elaborated in a recent article by Mrs. Doebling, the women's secretary for Wuerttemberg-Baden, which was carried in the February 12th issue of Wuerttemberg-Badische Gewerkschafts-Zeitung. Mrs. Doebling points out that current problems of women can only be solved as part of the entire trade union program because they are basically union questions. Mrs. Doebling illustrates the breadth of trade union women's interests today by pointing to their interest in the following questions: equal pay for equal work; social insurance, working conditions; more wages for domestic servants; work agreements for domestic servants; agreements making possible a paid day for household work; the

protection of mothers; the training of women for positions as social workers, nurses, etc.; and the establishment of raises for women which are in line with the new constitution. All such problems form the core of a workers' education program. Their awareness of vital problems would suggest that the problem of developing such a program lies in the need of better integration of women into trade union life, and the development of skills needed for this process, rather than in any lack of real interest on the part of the women.

INTERPRETATION AND EVALUATION

In any industrial country the labor movement is in a strategic position. It can do much to strengthen the democratic forces within the country provided its membership have developed for themselves well-grounded democratic principles and practices. For this reason workers' education, as the movement whereby the labor movement develops its social intelligence and its organizational "know-how," may play a crucial part in the building of a democratic social order.

In Germany workers' education leaders recognize the many problems to be met which lie ahead. Perhaps the most important problem is that of creating the milieu in which workers' education can best be carried on. As already pointed out, difficulties stem in part from the general public's lack of interest in and understanding of the aims of the trade unions, as well as their sense of need to train new young leaders in the trade union movement, and the related need for workers' education to be organized toward this end.

The lack of broad contacts between the trade unions and other groups in society has its effect, too, on the practices and problems which present themselves. Workers' education is criticized because in post-war Germany the unions do not assume as much responsibility for community programs as unions in the United States reputedly do. In this connection, the lack of contact between the unions and other groups in Germany, and the educational tradition that gives greater educational opportunities to certain groups than to others, should be recognized as obstacles to be overcome.

Trade Unions and Adult Education Bodies

The question of the relationship between trade unions and workers' education on one hand, and the adult education bodies on the other is a matter of interest to the Military Government as well as to the German labor movement.

Although I did not study in any detail the participation of trade union members in the evening schools (Volkshochschulen), 1/

1/ The Volkshochschulen are adult education schools, designed to fill the lacks which result from the class school system in Germany, and where persons who only went to elementary school may broaden their vocational and general knowledge.

the extent of this participation and its value to the unions varies in different sections. Certainly trade union members are among those who take courses at the evening schools, but the proportion of trade unionists among the students is not large in so far as I was able to discover. (The percentage quoted to me varied from 10% to 25%.) Trade unions sometimes pay the fees for their members who attend, and are in certain communities represented on the governing bodies, and suggest teachers and recommend certain courses.

In the report of the Bavarian Federation of Labor for 1947 it is pointed out that in 17 communities out of 25 where there are Volkshochschulen, trade union groups have a seat in the Board of Directors and influence the curriculum by recommending courses in economics, social science and labor law. (It is pointed out, however, that these courses which trade unionists need to attend are not often asked for.) There are schools, too, where both directors and governing bodies are in sympathy with the aims of the labor movement. On the other hand, a group of workers' education experts, meeting together recently, pointed out that many of the Volkshochschulen are directed by persons who are hostile to labor and that many of the teachers consciously oppose the trade union movement, which does not encourage cooperation between the two groups. The situation is further complicated by the fact that public support of these schools means that they may be influenced by political forces. The Academy of Labor, it has been pointed out, is in a sense a public agency in that it receives funds from the State. The Academy administration, however, feels that labor interests are safeguarded by the Board of Directors (Kuratorium) which is responsible for the administration of the Academy and on which union representatives are in a majority. The management of the Volkshochschulen by a Kuratorium as broadly representative, it has been pointed out, would guarantee representation of a number of interested groups including the trade unions, and might prevent the domination of any one group.

There is a great deal of interest on the part of workers' education groups in how trade unions can cooperate more extensively with other organizations of adult education. Union representatives everywhere have an important contribution to make by their leadership in community affairs, and, because of their clear sense of responsibility, usually have concrete ideas for working out programs both in educational and social fields. The problem in post-war Germany is how the trade unions may get into a position where they can have more influence - on

boards of adult education agencies, social agencies, community councils, adult education councils and the like.

One great problem is training teachers who can teach not only subject matter but democratic responsibility. During the depression in the United States, adult education projects were among the government projects set up to employ unemployed teachers and professionals. The unions had a voice in setting up these education programs and it was possible to set up training programs for teachers - programs often organized to retrain teachers for adult education and workers' education in this sense. In Germany the problem of teachers is more acute, and materials of all kinds are still in very short supply. Another complicating factor already mentioned is that the adult education movement in Germany is supported largely by public funds, whereas workers' education is paid for in large part by the labor movement.

In a recent discussion of some of the workers' education leaders in Germany it was emphasized that adult education should educate for independent thinking and thus lift the whole level of adult participation in society. Perhaps, they said, it is the task of workers' education to see to it that German adult education, the Volkshochschule, recognizes the existence of current social and political problems and endeavors to educate thinking men. How can trade unions influence other organizations of adult education, they asked. If they try to influence the Volkshochschulen directly, they will be severely attacked. But it is necessary to try to permeate the Volkshochschulen, and they must be confronted with the question of what they are doing to build and safeguard democracy.

German adult education at present is too much a reflection of middle-class culture, the group thought, and deserves to be criticized exactly as the public schools are, for not educating people for democratic living. Unfortunately adult education, they added, seems only to be effective on the periphery of adult life - handwork, languages, art history, music appreciation, travel - while workers' education deals with the real problems of the times, and is therefore adult education in the best sense.

Unions then are interested in getting into a position where their influence will be felt in adult education and community groups. It should be pointed out that in the British

Zone the trade unions send representatives to the Teachers Colleges (Paedagogische Akademien) to spend a day with the students, answering questions and informing them on trade union matters. This makes it possible for the young teacher to get acquainted with trade union problems and workers' education. In the British Zone, also, a government regulation provides that trade unionism be taught in the schools, the trade unions providing the material for these lectures. Lectures on trade unionism given in the vocational schools are especially important. This is not practiced in vocational schools in Hesse or Bavaria.

Several interesting experiments now being conducted in the British Zone, which may be useful as a basis for working out further relationships between trade unions and adult education bodies, involve the trade unions and the evening schools. Among these is the project set up by the education department of the DGB and the Volkshochschulheim Schloss Goehrde and Volkshochschulheim Jaegerlei Hustedt. Here, under the banner of an organization known as "Work and Life," special courses have been arranged of special interest to workers, and the trade union groups are assisting in their promotion. The general purpose as described by the educational director of the DGB is to raise the general educational level of workers, but not to duplicate the more specialized training conducted by the workers' schools.

Another development is seen in the conference recently called at Hamburg in which participated representatives of the Workers' Educational Association of England, representatives of the cooperatives, of the Trade Union Federation and of its educational department, of certain Volkshochschulen and of the Military Government of the British Zone, the Academy of Labor at Frankfurt and the Academy of Social Economy at Hamburg. The purpose of the conference was to survey the organizations under which adult education is carried on, the position of the State toward adult education, and experience in England, as well as in Germany, in regard to cooperation between trade unions, cooperatives, adult education groups and universities. The experience of the British WEA was reviewed as well as the objectives of the trade union and cooperative programs in Germany. As a result of this conference a committee was set up to discuss further questions of cooperation between the various groups and on the committee are represented the trade unions, the Trade Union Federation and the Volkshochschulen.

A new experiment conducted in Frankfurt will further illustrate the current interest in closer cooperation between labor and other groups. Classes of interest to workers, under the auspices of the Volkshochschule, are held in the factories themselves. More teachers and organizers are needed for such projects.

Because of the fast developing program of cooperation between labor and universities in the United States, there is a strong interest on the part of the Military Government in the extent to which German universities cooperate in the program of workers' education. Although the example of cooperation between the University of Frankfurt and the Academy of Labor is outstanding, more often, it seemed to the writer, the basis of cooperative activity is the personal interest of some faculty member. In post-war Germany, the cooperation between German universities and workers' education generally is not as extensive as that of the United States, or so it seemed to the writer. This may be expected, perhaps, in the light of the traditional conservatism of German universities and the fact that the professions which those teachers with university training most often enter do not include work in the labor movement.

Curriculum and Methods of Teaching in Workers' Schools

The relation of workers' education to other educational groups, especially in the general adult education field, is important to those interested in the progress of workers' education in Germany today, but holds less interest for the readers of this report than the success and value of the workers' education program itself. The importance of the workers' education program may be measured by the potential value of the labor movement as a powerful democratic force in Germany. There is no doubt in the mind of the writer that the labor movement has a strategic role to play, and holds much promise for the future of Germany.

There are many ways to judge an educational movement. Over a period of years objective tests may be applied in terms of the accomplishments of those who have received the training and their successes or failures in meeting their responsibilities. Although it was not the task of the author to set up a testing program which would measure learning in terms of new insight gained by those attending workers' schools, the educational activities may be judged in less exact terms. In so far as

this visitor could judge, and as already pointed out, sustained interest in the work is evidenced by wide participation by workers from all over Germany and the steady growth of the educational program since the war; the study program has specific relation to the real problems and interests of the labor movement; and there is a sense of urgency on the part of students and teachers alike.

Critics of the German workers' education program often say that its curriculum is too narrow, charging that cultural subjects take second place to technical subjects. German workers' education leaders, however, point out that workers' education in Germany is operating now under many severe handicaps, particularly the pressing need for trained union functionaries and for trade unionists who can take over certain government posts. To accomplish this, they say, the curriculum must necessarily follow its present trend, with emphasis placed on courses designed to equip workers for specific functions in the labor movement, and cultural work will have to remain a goal rather than a reality for some time to come. Actually the cultural work which the Akademie der Arbeit, for example, now carries on is more in the line of recreational activity than an integrated part of the educational program. Since, however, training and education cannot be entirely separated and since there is also great need today for unionists who understand and function in society in its broadest sense, it is agreed, by those with whom I came in contact, that cultural needs cannot be postponed indefinitely.

One leader has pointed out a great point of difference between Germany and the United States in that in Germany it is still necessary to fight for the democratic idea, while in the United States the democratic concept is accepted. In Germany, he said, the whole social situation is in process of change. The struggle for equality and against the privileges of the few is still going on and its results are in no sense certain. In this fluid situation the Nazis see their chance to make a new bid for support. German workers' education, this leader added, must train democrats - trade unionists with a sense of their social responsibility and with skill to play their part in society. Workers' education must educate in this broad sense.

The method of teaching workers' education groups varies, of course, with the teacher and the project. I was impressed with the real knowledge of the labor movement on which the teaching was based, and with the quality of work in many of

the classrooms I visited. As pointed out earlier, the teaching as a whole reflects the German concept that education is meant to supply information, and many speakers and lectures fill the students' days. There is, however, often a good deal of give-and-take between student and teacher, with an opportunity for questions to be asked and answered. But discussion, in the sense that it is understood in workers' education in the United States, is not often used in Germany, in so far as my experience would indicate. Projects are more liable to be planned "at the top," too, with less participation in programming by the students than in the United States. Nor could I find that the group work process is generally recognized in the carrying on of workers' education.

One group of Americans and Germans discussing contrasts between the two countries argued that in Germany one is more liable to start with the ideal and attempt to show how it applies to practical questions, while in the United States it is considered sound teaching procedure to start with the practical problem, and seek understanding and interpretation of the wider scope of this problem through the use of all possible resources.

It would seem to me somewhat difficult for the learning process to be functional in character in a set-up such as that of the German trade unions which is highly centralized in character and where there is great reliance by the trade unions on the protection of the State through legislation, with less dependence than in the United States on collective bargaining at the plant level. Relevant also is the fact that the group which functions at the plant level - the works council - is not directly responsible to the trade union body, but works out plant problems on the basis of the rights of co-determination granted them. More than this, however, it would be my judgment that there is more need among the German unions to recognize that an educational program may grow out of group activity and that changed attitudes and values are often the result of the opportunity on the part of the students to deal democratically with everyday problems and concerns. From the point of view of one who believes in these principles of education, it is always important to recognize that education gains in effectiveness and meaning as a result of the close interrelation of study and action on real needs.

Among workers' education leaders in Germany, there are,

of course, those who recognize the importance of a sound group work approach. Others who plan their work to meet specialized needs (those of youth and of women, for example) have met the problem in part. The group work will be strengthened, however, as programs are increasingly developed which give experience in group thinking and group action, i.e., in practical democracy. The development of local educational committees that participate in planning will no doubt also strengthen the process, as will the development of projects which equip the trade union member to function in real situations and the training of leaders who understand the group work approach.

Programs to Combat Prejudice

Many Americans interested in workers' education in Germany ask how far the workers' schools in Germany are developing programs designed to combat racial and religious prejudice. I made no comprehensive study of this question, but German labor educators answer that the fact that the labor movement (a movement working for democratic principles) is in existence and encourages workers to take part in its activities is obvious evidence of one answer to this question. The schools are consciously including in their curricula also material which points to the fallacies of the Nazi theory, which suggested that certain groups in society are superior to others - a theory which is in direct contrast to the teachings of the labor movement. Democratic procedures in the schools, such as the appointment of student councils, as well as the give and take of the community life in these schools, also play a part in this program. As an element of the teaching in labor education, the dignity of each person is stressed and the difference between this concept and that of the Nazi period is pointed out. In so far as my experience gives me background for judgment, however, I saw no evidence of organized courses or specific program which dealt with the subject in the way that it is sometimes dealt with in workers' schools in the United States.

Materials and Other Resources

Specific materials needed for an adequate workers' education program have already been mentioned in this report, but little reference has yet been made to the inadequacy of such materials and the difficulties which confront those who are engaged in

workers' education, as indicated by the fact that libraries in all of the schools visited were pitifully small and inadequate. Books and pamphlets are needed; the earlier history of the trade union movement and former trade union publications are often lacking. Outlines for study and other technical aids for teachers and students would strengthen the work.

There is also an outstanding need for many types of resources. Technicians, such as radio experts - useful in a mass educational program, need to be trained. (On the positive side of this picture, however, it should be noted that the Northwest German Broadcasting Station employs trade unionists who are radio specialists, and that in Hamburg a course on radio was in operation last spring, with 20 people participating - 5% of whom were chosen for further training.) 1/

A number of people with whom I came in contact stressed their particular interest in films as teaching aids. This interest is important because such teaching materials would serve not only to vitalize the teaching, but, also, to give greater informality in the class room work, and thus to encourage more discussion and participation on the part of the student body.

The lack of films useful in a sound teaching program cannot be over-emphasized. Films used by groups which I visited included largely stories of American life, many of which had little relationship to the real needs and interest of the students. One workers' education leader pointed out that in reviewing a recent list of available educational films, he found only three or four to be of any possible use to workers' groups. Also needed are laboratories and workshops in which teaching materials could be prepared which relate to the real interests of the students in the classroom and which would thus strengthen the teaching program. Films and film strips developed in their own laboratories by trade union groups may well prove to be useful, not only to their own members, but, in addition, to other adult groups, and may have the added value of influencing such other adult education groups in the direction of developing their study around specific economic and social problems.

1/ In the new tri-zonal federation, definite responsibility for radio work is to be assumed by a vice-president of the federation.

Any discussion of workers' education should take into account many other media for learning, among these magazines and newspapers. Due to a lack of opportunity on the part of the writer to adequately study these, the organs of the trade union federations, used as one means of acquainting the membership with current problems of concern to the trade unions, are not reviewed here. Because of its special interest to those engaged in workers' education, however, mention should be made of a new magazine, "Die Aussprache - Blaetter Fuer Die Gewerkschaftliche Bildungsarbeit" ("The Discussion - Periodical for Labor Education") ^{1/}, a new publication of the Educational Department of the DGB and edited by Dr. Kueppers, its educational director at the time of this report. ^{2/} In the first issue (May 1949) Dr. Kueppers points out that now that the labor educational program has reached maturity, such a magazine is important to assist in the exchange of experience and coordination of planning.

Although only a few issues have yet come off the press, the range of questions discussed is broad, including, among others: youth and education; the curriculum of the DGB Federation School; practice courses of the DGB (the story of the courses for young white collar workers, in which they study business problems); the trade union cultural endeavors, especially in the theatre; trade union education and public opinion; the desire for a common scientific basis of trade union work; the work of the Academy for Social and Cooperative Economy; the social character of the reform in the school system of Bremen; the intellectuals in the community; and the work of a seminary for youth leaders.

Youth Program

Because of its importance as one of the most significant and hopeful educational activities of the trade unions, the youth programs of the trade unions must be included in this evaluation and summary. The youth programs have vitality and are related to current affairs. This may be illustrated by the

- ^{1/} "Die Aussprache" was first brought to my attention by Dr. Eduard Weitsch, the publisher of "Freie Volksbildung", another magazine of interest to those in workers' education, because methods and teaching techniques are discussed there.
- ^{2/} Dr. Kueppers has been put in charge of courses and schools for the educational department of the new tri-zonal federation.

discussion which took place on the night of my visit to Munich, which revolved around such questions as volunteer labor service, lack of openings for apprentices and the right of young people today to be able to enter the trade or profession in which they are interested. A related question was that of adequate pensions for older people which would mean that the jobs could be released for young people interested in entering industry. There was active discussion on this, as well as on the youth protection law - dealing with hours of work, child labor, over-time pay, rules for apprentices, etc., the increase of payment to apprentices, vocational training, and on other basic economic problems confronting the unions today.

Another measure of the value of the youth work is found in the hope and vision of the youth secretaries. This was expressed by the interest of youth leaders in Bavaria in educational methods for developing democratic attitudes and deepening understanding of democratic principles. This resulted in the plan drawn up by a group of such leaders from important trade unions in Bavaria for a workshop to consider such techniques, and to be attended by youth leaders from trade unions in Munich and its environs.

Coordination

The organization of the tri-zonal federation since the time of the writer's visit to Germany will no doubt result in even greater coordination of effort. ^{1/} Before this, however, and in spite of the difficulties resulting from the fact that workers' education groups in widely-separated parts of the American Zone, as well as in the different zones, were often not in close touch, there was a fast-growing trend toward coordination in workers' education. One illustration of this trend is found in the meeting previously mentioned of the economists in the workers' school and trade union research workers, called this spring by the educational department of the DGB and its Research Institute. This meeting, which concerned itself with such questions as wage policy, living-cost index, credits and finance policy, and the trade unions' demands for co-decision, made possible not only an exchange of experience,

^{1/} On the staff of the director of the educational department of the tri-zonal federation are those who carry responsibility for the following; courses and schools; press, radio and public relations; international relations; youth, and women's activities.

but also discussion of method and policy. Sub-committees, which were asked to report at a subsequent meeting in October, were appointed to deal with special problems. Another meeting previously referred to, attended by adult and workers' education groups in the British Zone, discussed closer coordination between these groups and is further indicative of this trend.

The suggestion that the Akademie der Arbeit be more widely used as a center for advanced study for students from all over Germany is also indicative of the desire on the part of the practitioners in workers' education, to seek strength through coordination. A practical immediate step in the proposal to set up a clearing house of foreign trade union materials and to use the resources of the Akademie for such a clearing house so that all incoming materials would be registered there and be available to any of the German schools who wished to use them.

There is a good deal of coordination of effort, also, which is effected by informal consultation between those responsible for workers' education projects of various types, and by representation on boards of directors of personnel from other workers' education projects.

There was discussion at the time of my visit of the possibility, with the organization of the new tri-zonal trade union federation, of further coordination of work under an over-all educational committee, which would work with an educational representative in the executive group of each union. Although there is now inter-communication and cooperation between the educational officers of the various federations, this central committee would make possible the coordination of the work at other levels. It would be hoped by this observer that such top level planning would not preclude creative experimentation at the local level, or the participation of local, indigenous leadership in planning.

Importance of the Resumption of International Contacts on the Part of Workers' Education Bodies

The acceptance of the German trade unions, with equal rights, in the newly formed International Federation of Trade Unions, is a new step in the direction of the resumption of fuller international cooperation by the trade unions of Germany and other countries. If there are any values growing out of the visit to Germany of this writer, these will be largely, it seems to me, in the establishment of contacts leading toward

closer international contacts on the part of workers' education bodies in Germany and in the United States. The development of such cooperation will stem not only from contacts between leaders of workers' education groups, but also from the development of further awareness of their interdependency on the part of rank and file union members of many countries.

Much work is still to be done, however, in Germany, as well as in the United States, in giving the rank and file worker a deeper understanding of the forces shaping world affairs and of the basic facts of international economics.

It is generally accepted that in the top leadership in the labor movement in Germany there is active interest in international affairs and in Germany's seeing its place in relation to a total world scene. Although I had no opportunity to make objective tests, this is probably far less true on the part of the rank-and-file workers, who have been isolated so long, and are not so likely to see their own problems in an international setting. In so far, however, as my contacts would give me a basis for judgment, there is real interest on the part of the rank and file in Germany, which indicates some desire for international contacts on their part. This interest was evidenced by almost all the groups of worker-students to whom I spoke, although it at times reflected a certain amount of criticism of some of the policies in the United States, and of the Military Government. The questions which were asked me are reported here for what they may reveal in indicating the interests of these groups. These questions related to:

legislation affecting labor, especially laws protecting women and children and the Taft-Hartley Act;

the position of the United States trade unions on the question of socialization, on political action, on international issues, and on international organization;

organizational activities of the trade unions, both general activities and activities as they relate to women;

the part played in the community by labor leaders;

the position of the Negro in American life;

how wages and the cost of living balance in the United States;

the part played by women in the trade unions;

whether unions in America exist only to get higher wages or are concerned with deeper social and political problems;

the form, content and problems in workers' education;

the relation of universities to labor (how far workers use the universities and how far they can secure the necessary training there);

and many questions relating to the attitude of the American labor movement toward Germany and the problems which confront the trade unions in Germany.

The importance of German workers' education groups resuming contacts with other countries was recognized by all those leaders with whom I came in contact. This was evidenced in many conversations (one leader expressed interest in the re-establishment of an international educational center which would be concerned not only with materials and research but also with international exchange of personnel), as well as in activities engaged in. The participation of the trade unions in the Military Government's present program is obvious evidence of such interest and of real exchange of experience.

The re-establishment of contacts between rank-and-file workers of various countries, and the exchange of experience between German workers and others is accomplished also through the attendance at German summer schools of workers from other countries. Several such projects are organized in the British Zone. Another illustration is found in the summer institutes of the Youth section of the Railroad Workers Union, to which visitors from many other countries were invited this summer.

Contacts gained through receipt of materials for study, food and other necessities sent to Germany by workers' groups abroad, should not be minimized as a method of increasing international contacts. The visits of trade unionists and workers' education personnel contribute greatly to the resumption of international cooperation in the field of workers' education. The more comprehensive work of the official trade union and labor representatives working in Germany, and the activities of the Manpower staff also play an important part.

The attendance of a trade union representative at the UNESCO adult education conference formed another step in the re-establishment of useful contacts with workers' education bodies in the European countries, which will be valuable to many German workers' groups. This may well lead to plans for all workers' education bodies, through a central office, to keep in continual touch with those educational organizations and conferences working on international affairs, such as UNESCO, ILO, and the International Federation of WEA's.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to develop closer international cooperation through extending the contacts between this movement and workers' education movements in other countries, as well as to help strengthen the German workers' education movement as such, the following recommendations are made in regard to ways in which the Military Government can assist:

1. Resources

It is my belief that the most important contribution which can be made by Military Government to workers' education is that of making available resources for indigenous programs. Of first importance is the employment of a well-trained workers' education specialist, who has a knowledge of methods and content, and who has experience in the workers' education field. Such a person would wish to take immediate action in making resources available where the need is clear, and as requested by the German workers' education movement.

It is further proposed, especially in the light of the organization of the tri-zonal federation, that a conference on resources for workers' education be planned at an early date. Through committees in various communities, the project would put to work small groups of workers, to seek new resources and to experiment in their use, in order to report their findings to an overall conference which could be participated in by workers' study groups all over Germany.

This project would serve many purposes. First, it would help to uncover all available resources, including written material, library resources and such informal materials as movies, film strips, charts, maps and other visual aids. It would be useful in developing new materials and it would center attention on methods of study through informal use of discussion and "learning by doing." The project might also help to form a new bridge between certain universities and workers' education programs through the participation in the project of university persons who are interested in labor education but have not yet has an opportunity to function in workers' education activities.

In order to be effective, this project should be carried on by a person who has had experience in Germany; it would not be useful if the person conducting it had first to gain the confidence of German workers' education personnel.

Scholarship assistance is needed immediately to make possible the participation of a larger number of workers in the workers' school activities. (This need is illustrated by the closing for three months in the summer of 1949 of the school run by the Bavarian Federation of Labor at Kochel am See. Although other reasons no doubt entered into the decision to rent the school for that period, the need for additional finances was one of the reasons put forward for postponing the program). It is further recommended that in addition to general scholarship assistance, the Military Government give scholarships for the special purpose of enabling more women to attend the Akademie der Arbeit. The importance of some funds being marked for women to attend the Akademie der Arbeit, stems from the well-known fact that if only general scholarship assistance is given, there is danger that women will not be selected.

Since library facilities are inadequate, more books, pamphlets, and visual aids, very much needed by the schools, should be made available. The heads of several schools have indicated their interest in securing material written in English as well as in German. In this connection it is suggested, as mentioned before, that foreign material be registered at the Akademie der Arbeit, the Director of which could then keep other groups informed about such resources.

It is urged that funds be made available for movies and film strips which relate directly to the problems under consideration in the workers' classes, and that projectors, as well as films, be purchased. Plans should be discussed with workers' education leaders concerning help which might be given in the development of a workshop or film laboratory in which film strips could be made in Germany for use in workers' education projects in many parts of the country, if such a proposal fits into the plans for an education department of the new tri-zonal federation.

Since the radio, as well as the film, is not being used as widely or adequately as could be wished, the hope was expressed

to the writer by workers' education leaders that, with the establishment of the West German Trade Union Federation, a section of the education department be devoted to these special fields and that trained radio and film personnel be employed. Technical assistance in this connection would no doubt be welcome from a radio expert from the United States, who is familiar with the labor and workers' education fields. In this event, assistance or resources for training may be needed from the Military Government.

Because the Correspondence School (Briefschule) is new, it is recommended that direct support also be made available for this project in order that it can get fully established, looking toward the time when it can carry itself by tuition payments. The importance of its work is accentuated by the fact that the wide preparation of pamphlet material on economic and social subjects prepared in the United States by government and community organizations, as well as union bodies, is not duplicated in Germany.

2. Strengthening Understanding of the Group Work Process

As one contribution toward the objective of a trade union membership which is both informed and equipped to lead, it seems important to the writer, as well as to some workers' education leaders in Germany, to broaden the understanding of the use of the group work process on the part of those engaged in workers' education. It is recommended that assistance be given three projects which have been worked out with this in mind, and for which leadership has been approved. These projects have been planned for groups particularly interested in studying educational methods for the development of democratic attitudes and the deepening of understanding of democratic principles on the part of their membership. At the suggestion of local leaders, attention should be given to more effective methods of stimulating and holding the interest of their members, and to resources for more effective teaching, as well as to how to prepare the young trade unionists to initiate more effective educational programs in their local communities.

It is recommended that other similar demonstration projects be organized in new centers.

Since the appointment of local educational committees to participate in planning and carrying out programs would strengthen this phase of the work, it is urged that, as suggested in Mrs. Cook's report, the organization of conferences to promote the discussion of common problems be recognized as of special importance. The conference on materials, proposed earlier in this memorandum, also has related values.

3. Teachers' Training

The training of new teachers for workers' education is important in Germany, as it is in the United States. The need (recognized by German workers' education leaders) for developing such a training program for teachers in this field, cannot be over-emphasized, and assistance by OMGUS in providing resources for this program may be sought by labor groups. As far as the Military Government is concerned, any assistance in teacher training could be done most effectively as part of a permanent workers' education service.

4. Visiting Experts

In planning for Visiting Experts who are concerned with workers' education, in order to better relate the work of such experts to the plans for an educational program of the trade unions, it is recommended that, before arrangements are completed, consultation be held with labor and workers' education persons who will be using such experts, in order that the best use of their skills be made. It is suggested, also, that, whenever possible, Visiting Experts have the assistance of Advisory Committees made up of German experts in their fields of work.

It is also suggested that the Akademie der Arbeit be informed about those trade unionists who come into Germany. The Director could then let other labor schools know that such resources are available.

In planning for visiting experts, it is my hope that precedence will be given to a permanent workers' education specialist, and to experts who can stay six months. Teachers

who come from the United States should have a broad experience in the workers' education movement.

It is suggested that, in using Visiting Experts, Manpower experiment with the plan of asking them to serve as members of Seminars in which both German and American experts participate. One problem which would lend itself to such study is that of methods of developing closer cooperation between the labor movement and other groups in the community.

5. Pertaining Especially to Women

In the light of the keen interest in trade union matters and community affairs on the part of trade union women whom I met, I strongly second Mrs. Cook's recommendation that active participation of women in trade unions needs to be strengthened. Reference has already been made to the need for scholarship assistance for women to attend workers' schools. It would seem important that every assistance be given to the women trade unionists in developing their conscious interest in economic and social problems and that, where possible, they should be assisted in the development of materials which would make this study program more effective.

Since I found interest expressed by women trade unionists in the preparation of material on the trade union movement both in Germany and in the United States, the German translation of Florence Peterson's book on the trade union movement, for example, could well be put into form for use by women trade unionists, together with some material on the German scene.

Experts from the United States and other countries on problems of women in industry and women in trade unions would be of great assistance to women's labor groups and would be welcomed by the women's secretaries in the various federations.

Local projects which would supply resources for local groups, would be useful. The women's groups of the trade union federation in Bavaria are interested in the setting up of a workshop or series of discussions with the women in the trade unions in Munich. It was requested, too, by youth leaders of Bavaria that Mrs. Cook speak before a number of their groups, on international questions relating to problems of youth. If a conference on resources for workers' education is planned, it would be my hope, also, that many women as well as men would participate in this project.

6. Recommendation with reference to sending German Trade Unionists to the United States.

In the interest of strengthening international contacts, it is urged that as soon as possible, a two-way exchange of trade unionists between the United States and Germany be effected. It is hoped, too, that closer contacts can be established with the unions in the United States which correspond to those of which the German representatives are members, in order to interest those trade unions in the United States in sending their members to visit Germany, as soon as it is possible to organize such a plan.

In planning for sending German labor and workers' education personnel to the United States, it is recommended that in addition to continuing to send trade unionists as such, leaders and teachers in workers' education be selected for such visits, and that these be chosen in cooperation with active workers' education leaders in Germany. It is suggested, further, that such persons be sent for study in England and the Scandinavian countries, as well as the United States.

Contacts with those active in workers' education in both countries would emphasize the value of closer cooperation between workers' education bodies in the United States and Germany in planning for the visits of German trade unionists to the United States. Although it is a policy of Manpower to ask the trade unionists to select their own representatives, it is suggested that a panel of candidates be submitted by the trade unions (these recommendations should be based on considered criteria), with the final selection in the hands of a committee on which both trade unionists and workers' education representatives sit together with a representative of the American staff. Furthermore, it is urged that a more detailed description of the backgrounds and needs of those going to the United States be sent to the United States for use by cooperating groups there.

Especially since the trade union women with whom I came in contact were interested in the possibilities for the development of new leadership on the part of women through their broader participation in the program of exchange of workers between Germany and the United States, it is recommended that a larger number of women be included in the delegations which are sent, as one phase of a general plan for strengthening the participation of women in trade unions and in community life.

It is urged, also, that consideration be given to an adequate allowance for support of the families of exchangees, during their absence in the United States.

Related to the suggestions made earlier for the study of techniques and the development of new teaching aids, it is urgently recommended that as part of the student exchange program representatives of workers' education organizations in Germany be given an opportunity in America to visit and study in centers where group work methods and discussion techniques are being used and where resources for workers' education are being developed. Specifically, it is recommended that use be made of the following centers:

The University of Chicago laboratory where materials for workers' education are being prepared; the American Labor Education Service, for a study of projects in which discussion and conference techniques are used, and for study of the development of educational techniques which will strengthen pro-democratic practices within the union movement; the Labor Education Division of Roosevelt College in Chicago, for the study of community education work; the Education and Research Department, CIO, especially for observation of the visual aids program.

Should a trade union educator with readiness for a study of the group work process be available to go to the United States, it is suggested that such a person spend some time at Western Reserve University under the guidance of the Director of the Group Work Section of the School of Applied Social Science.

Other workers' schools where it would be profitable to study and observe methods include the Hudson Shore Labor School, the School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin, White Collar Workshops (operated by the American Labor Education Service), The Southern School for Workers, and certain projects conducted by the educational department of the CIO and by the Workers Education Bureau.

7. The Re-establishment by German Trade Unionists of Contacts with Workers' Education Movements in Other Countries

Because of the important role to be played by the labor movement in the future of Germany, it is strongly urged that every assistance be given the trade unions in strengthening and extending cooperative

relationships between workers' education groups in Germany and in other countries.

Emphasis should be placed on bringing workers from other European countries to Germany, as well as on sending Germans to visit these countries. Plans are now being made for a five-month English-speaking school in England in which Germans could profitably take part, as well as in such English-speaking Institutes as those held in the British Zone. It is further recommended that American speakers be made available for international institutes such as that held at Dortmund.

It seems important, too, that consultants who are experienced in workers' education in other countries be used more widely in Germany, in addition to sending German trade unionists to visit other European countries. Such experts could include university extension experts as well as labor education representatives from England, Denmark and Sweden.

The wider exchange of material for use in workers' education between workers' groups in various countries would also assist in the development of international contacts, as would the establishment of a central library of foreign labor material in the library of the Akademie der Arbeit.

8. Increasing Labor's Acceptance by Other Community Groups

Labor's educational program in any country must necessarily include education of the public on labor's aims, as well as an educational program for labor's own membership. In Germany today, it seems especially important to interpret to the wider public labor's purposes and its unique contribution to public life; and the Military Government can be of great assistance in this respect. This can be accomplished in many ways, only two or three of which are enumerated in this memorandum.

Closer contact between labor education and other adult education groups will play its part here. An important illustration in this connection is the experiment in the British Zone, between the educational department of the DGB, the cooperatives and two resident schools (VHS Heimschule Jaegerlei Hustedt and Heimschule Schloss Goehrde),

As previously mentioned, under a plan known as "Work and Life," special courses are set up for trade unionists at these schools.

More labor representation on the Boards of the Volkshochschulen would also strengthen an understanding of labor's needs. The introduction, on a wider scale, of courses about trade unions and labor history in the curricula of vocational schools and teachers' training schools is also suggested as important. (The example of the British Zone may be mentioned here, also.)

More effective trade union radio programs would also play a part.

It cannot be urged too strongly that closer relations, in so far as these relate to workers' education be worked out between Manpower and the Education and Cultural Relations Division. Contacts with workers' education leaders need to be correlated and coordinated, and more correlation in connection with the choice of worker-students for the United States would make for better coordinated services to these persons in the United States.

FINDINGS OF STUDY FOR UNITED STATES WORKERS' EDUCATION GROUPS

Recommendations made to the Military Government with reference to resources for workers' education in Germany have implications for the workers' education groups in America, whose cooperation is needed to make certain of these recommendations effective.

While it is important that more careful selection of those who come to the United States be made in Germany, careful planning should be done in the United States to make the visits of workers' education representatives useful. It is strongly recommended that workers' education advisory committees be used to the utmost. Plans and programs for observation and longer-time study in the American workers' education field should be carefully developed on the basis of information sent from Germany on the needs of the visitors. There should be more coordination among the contacts made for the worker-students, and more advanced notice should be given to those who are to cooperate.

It is hoped that as soon as possible workers from the United States will go to Germany as well as having visitors from Germany come to the United States. The more it is possible for this exchange program to develop with the unions encouraging and taking responsibility for exchange, the better it will be.

It is urged also that in so far as possible those in the workers' education movement in this country assist in encouraging the participation of German trade unionists in international workers' education gatherings, such as, for example, the International Federation of Workers' Education Associations.

Since German workers' education projects need materials of every kind including materials in English, it is suggested that a regular exchange of material be organized between various groups in Germany and in the United States; and that a plan be set up by American workers' education bodies to assist in this project. It is suggested further that a committee be organized in the United States to screen materials sent from here in order that these be in relation to real needs. (There are many specific requests to guide the work of such a committee.) It is suggested also that, when possible, copies of such material go to the Academy of Labor in Frankfurt, to assist in setting up there a library on foreign labor and workers' education movements, and that the American Labor Education Service's office be used

as one New York City center where copies of different types of German material may be deposited, supplementing the more comprehensive collection of material in the Department of Labor.

Since, obviously, the groups need material written in German more than they do material in English, funds should be secured from unions and other groups, so that this material may be bought wherever possible.

The United States groups can help by sending films and projectors, especially films which have some relation to the economic topics under consideration by the students and workers' schools. In the establishment of a film laboratory where the groups can make their own films, the German workers' education specialists will no doubt wish to organize their own workshop, but every possible cooperation should be given them in securing materials and other technical help.

It is suggested that there be a wider exchange of articles about workers' education carried in trade union papers in the two countries, and that the ties between the workers' education groups be strengthened through conferences and every other possible contact.

Appendix A

All the recommendations made by Mrs. Alice Hanson Cook in her 1947 report on workers' education seem to me basic in increasing the effectiveness of workers' education in Germany. With the exception of the first, third and seventh recommendations, which deal with the appointment of Land educational secretaries, the broadening of the exchange of students and teachers between the United States and Germany to include workers' education personnel, and cooperation on the part of the Manpower Staff with the officers of the Education and Cultural Division in the fields of adult education and vocational education, youth work and university assistance, much of the work is still ahead. I would urge that immediate attention be given to the other recommendations. The full recommendations are as follows:

"1. Manpower Staff should include a workers' education specialist as staff consultant, who should be available to travel as a consultant to the unions.

"2. Manpower Staff member should work with other OMGUS agencies to make resources in Germany available to unions for educational work: films, libraries, and publications, university and public school service, radio and adult educational resources.

"3. Manpower Staff member should promote with union educational staff members zonal, bizonal and Laender conferences on workers' education to include a survey of German and American resources, to discuss problems of teacher recruitment and training, to pool experiences in resident school organization and administration, and to lay down lines of cooperation with other community educational agencies.

"4. The unions are spending a great deal of time and energy on vocational training, some of which at least should be done by public school agencies, or by labor offices. There should certainly be more consciousness of its relation to general labor market needs.

"A general lack of vocational tool shops and school rooms, of opportunities for apprenticeships, plus the special needs of retraining refugees and veterans, may dictate the continuance of union activity in this field. (This is a service the unions

may owe the community so long as the community cannot meet the demands.) A long run plan should call for trade union representatives on vocational school boards, industry advisory committees, apprentice examining boards and in vocational counselling services.....

"With a broader and enriched vocational school curriculum, the work the Munich unions are doing in providing discussions of trade union problems for prospective vocational school teachers should be more widely known.

"5. A positive and detailed adaptation of union program to the special needs of women is imperative.....

"The critical need from the union's point of view now is not so much program to meet the problems of these women, but consideration and experimentation with methods of working with them.....

"6. While schools cannot do the major educational work in the unions, they are indispensable for intensive training.... Equipping schools, youth centers, rest homes and the like in so far as it can be done now with the shortage of materials should be an immediate program.....

"Leadership for these schools is not lacking, but because at the moment there is no opening for such people on a full time basis with the unions, they are being drained off into social work, work in the ministries, etc. They could, however, be mobilized if time and direction were given to the search.

"7. Manpower Staff member should establish cooperative relations with American union educational departments to get help with teaching materials, school supplies, libraries and gifts of food.

"8. The attention of the unions should be called to the need for a scrutiny of their programs with women, with vocational education, with functional union groups, for the most positive use of the available resources in the interest of democratic labor education."

Appendix B

TRADE UNION AND YEAR-ROUND RESIDENT WORKERS' SCHOOLS IN WESTERN GERMANY AND BERLIN

U. S. Zone

Akademie der Arbeit
in der Universitaet Frankfurt a.M.

Frankfurt/Main, Zimmerweg 12

Landesgewerkschaftsschule

Oberursel/Taunus, Koenigsteiner
Strasse 24

Bundesschule Kochel

Kochel am See, Bayern

Schule des Eisenbahner-Verbandes

Hammersbach-Garmisch, Bayern

Bundesschule Burgwall 1/

Blumenthal bei Bremen

British Zone

Akademie fuer Gemeinwirtschaft

Hamburg, Mollerstr. 10

Sozialakademie Dortmund

Dortmund, Rheinlanddamm 201

Michael Rott Schule

Krefeld

Bundesschule Hattingen

Hattingen/Ruhr

Bundesschule Wennigser Mark

Wennigsen bei Hannover

Schule Rummenohl

Rummenohl/Sauerland

Gewerkschaftsschule

Barsbuettal b. Hamburg

1/ Operated by DGB

Berlin (U. S. Sector)

Wilhelm Leuschner Haus Schule

Berlin-Dahlem, Lantzeallee 7/9

French Zone

Bundesschule, Allgemeiner
Gewerkschaftsbund Baden
(Temporarily not running)

Rheinfelden/Oberrhein

Bundesschule, Allgemeiner
Gewerkschaftsbund Rheinland-Pfalz

Bad Muenster am Stein

This list does not include a record of youth centers operated by the trade unionists, such as Gewerkschaftsheim Winkelmoos Alm, Winkelmoos Alm bei Reit im Winkel (owned by Bavarian Trade Unions and used for youth activities); and Bunttes Haus Gewerkschafts-Jugend-Schule, Bunttes Haus bei Bielefeld, in the British Zone.

